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# Jean-François Coste

By John E. Lane, M. D.

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Chief Physician of the French Expeditionary Forces  
in the American Revolution

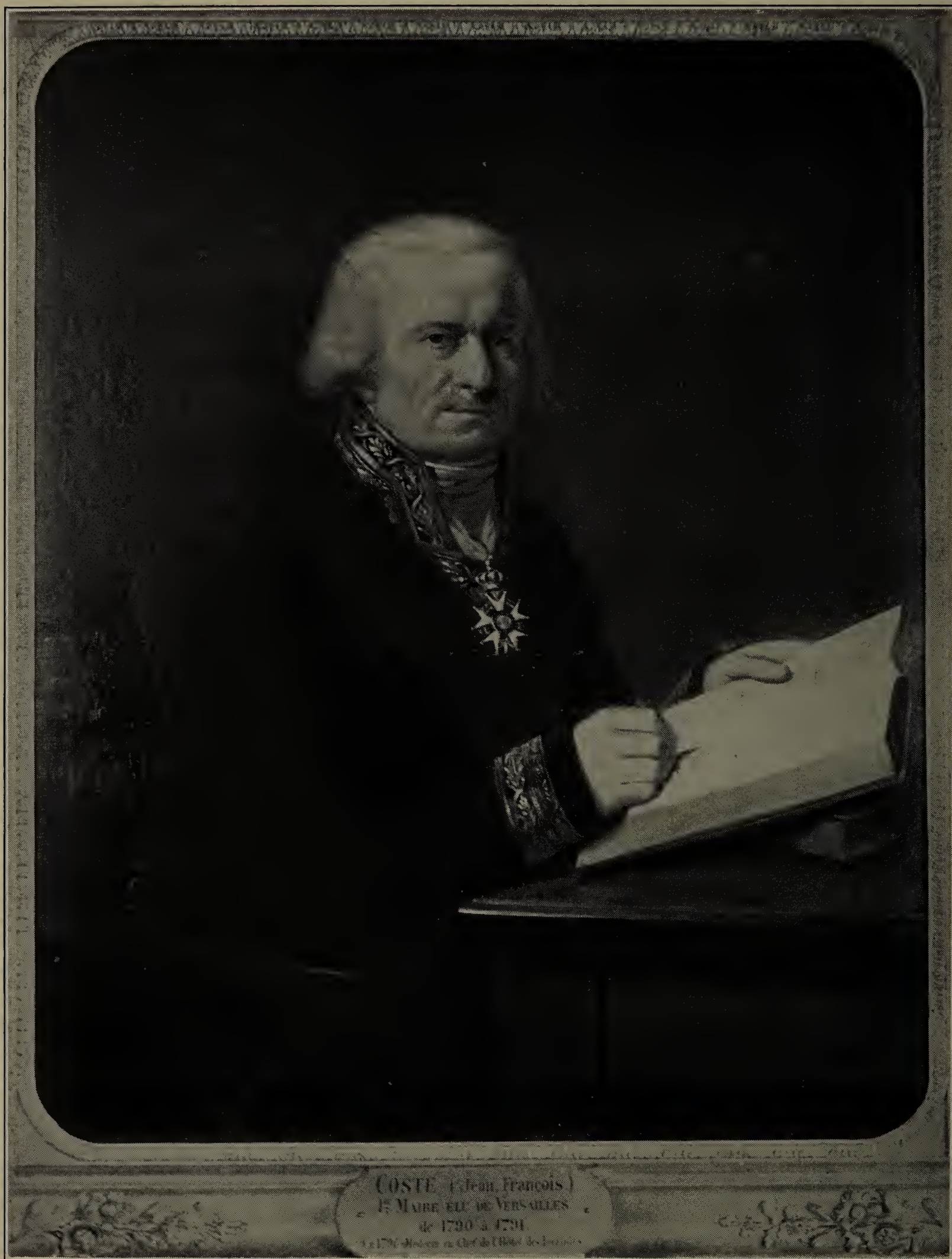
By John E. Lane, M. D.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE  
From a painting in the Mayor's office in the Hôtel-de-Ville of Versailles,



# Jean-François Coste

CHIEF PHYSICIAN OF THE FRENCH EXPEDITIONARY FORCES IN  
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY JOHN E. LANE, M. D., NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT



**INTRODUCTION**—The training of most of the medical officers who served in the armies engaged in the American Revolution was small, and many of the physicians and surgeons were incompetent or of little ability.

In the American Army “medical appointments seem to have been made in a most haphazard manner, without any regular system whatever” except in the case of the Massachusetts troops where “the examinations were sufficiently rigorous in character to maintain a high standard in the medical corps.”<sup>58</sup> The war was the “making of medicine in this country” and it brought into prominence many men active in its development.

In the British army in the Revolution “no medical corps in the modern sense of the word existed. Ever since the time of Charles II, there had been a Physician General and a Surgeon General, and since 1758, Inspectors of Hospitals; but little is known regarding their functions. According to the regulations, a surgeon and mate were attached to each regiment of foot. They were, however, essentially regimental officers. Although holding their commissions of the king, they were really appointed by the colonel, whose servants they had originally been.”<sup>48</sup>

With the Hession troops attached to the British army was Johann David Schoepf, the Anspach-Beyreuth surgeon, who came to America in 1777 and remained after the war was over to travel and study conditions in this country. His writings, which contain much valuable information on medical and other conditions of the time, are well known, as three of his books have been republished here, two of them translations.

The organization of the Medical Corps and of the military hospitals of the French army of this period was far in advance of that

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of the other European countries and the personnel was in general of a higher quality.<sup>45</sup>

The Chief Physician of the French Expeditionary forces, Jean-François Coste, had begun to acquire a reputation in France and he was later to become still more prominent. As a military physician and sanitarian from 1766 till his death in 1819, he held one position after another in the Medical Corps of the French Army and was the first elective mayor of Versailles, occupying that position for two years.

He served under Louis XV, Louis XVI, through the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, under Napoleon and Louis XVIII. With Lafayette and Rochambeau, he kept his head through the French Revolution, while many who had served with them in America went to the guillotine.

On the Fourth of July, 1918, there was a celebration in honor of Coste at the Hôtel-de-Ville of Versailles. The address was by M. Simon, Mayor of Versailles, and the Franco-American civil and military authorities were represented. A brief abstract of a French account of this celebration has been printed in this country.<sup>32</sup> A few brief notes in regard to Coste have also been published, but with these insignificant exceptions, so far as I have been able to learn, he has escaped the notice of historians of the American Revolution.

I have attempted to sketch Coste's life from French sources and to gather scattered scraps of information about his activities in America. The results have been small, as the materials are scanty. American records contain little information of details of the administration of the French Army, and the French records were taken back to France by Rochambeau. It is possible that in the records in the French Ministry of War, in the Hôtel-de-Ville of Versailles, in the Hôtel des Invalides, and in the military hospital, Val-de-Grace, there may be official reports of Coste's activities in America. Doctor Charles Picquet, from whose detailed account of Coste's life I have obtained much information, made use of these records, but his interest was chiefly in Coste's work in France and he adds little information on Coste's American experiences to that found elsewhere.

*Education and Early Years of Practice—Jean-François Coste.*



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the son of Pierre Coste, a physician, was born on June 14, 1741, at Villes-en-Michaille, a little village in that corner of France which touches Switzerland just north of Geneva. He had his early education at Belley and at Lyons. At eighteen he began his medical education at Paris, where the celebrated Antoine Petit, an old school mate of his father, was a member of the faculty. He completed his medical education in Paris, but went to Valence for his final examinations because the examinations were less onerous there, and the expense connected with them less. Having received his degree at the age of twenty-two, he returned to Villes to begin practice with his father.

Very shortly after his return an epidemic broke out in Gex, near his home. A governmental order sent him there and he soon succeeded in checking the disease. His first published writing was an account of the epidemic, and his management of it gained him the post of "médecin pensionné de la ville et des états du pays de Gex."<sup>38</sup>

His activities gave him some local reputation and it was at about this time that he became acquainted with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and with Claude-François Passerat de la Chapelle, Chief Physician of the French Army, who was born nearby at Chatillon, and who owned a chateau there. It was here that Coste met Voltaire, and "by caring for the inhabitants of Fernay where the epidemic also existed" won his esteem.<sup>38</sup>

Voltaire became sufficiently interested in Coste to write to the Duc de Choiseul the following letter of recommendation which Coste himself delivered.

À Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul.

Request of the Hermit of Ferney presented by M. Coste, Physician.

July 16 (1769)

Nothing is more proper than the prayer of an old patient for a young doctor. Nothing is more just than an increase of a small salary when the work increases.

My Lord knows perfectly well that formerly we had nothing but scrofula in the desert of Gex, and that since the troops came, we have something much worse (*de plus fort*). The old hermit who, to be sure, has received neither of these two blessings of Providence, but who is sincerely interested in those who are honored with them, takes the liberty of painfully and respectfully call-



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ing your attention to the fact that Sir Coste, our very amiable doctor who is planning to prevent us from dying, has not the where-withal to live, and that in this respect he is in a condition just the opposite of that of the great physicians of Paris. He begs Monseigneur to be good enough to take pity on a little district of which he is the only hope.<sup>66</sup>

That both the letter and Coste himself made a good impression on the Duke is shown by the fact that Choiseul gave Coste 600 francs for the expenses of his trip to Paris and a pension of 1200 livres, and a little later appointed him physician to the Hospital of Versoix.<sup>42, 66</sup>

He remained at Versoix for a short time and from there was transferred to Nancy. Here he wrote several articles, and was admitted to the local Academy. While in charge of the hospital at Nancy, Coste demonstrated his integrity and independence.

He had for a short time been in charge of the hospital at Nancy, when he discovered that his patients were the victims of the corruption of the administrators of the establishment. Angered by such conduct, he openly attacked the guilty ones without ceasing and without mercy. He said, "For a long time I struggled to some purpose, but after the death of the honest Marshall Dumy, Inspector Richard who had made a pretense of supporting his justice and firmness, promptly went over to the side of my detractors. I saw that it was impossible for me to check the abuses and I courageously resigned the office I could no longer fill without compromising my sense of duty." His resignation was accepted and he was without a position, without money, and heavily burdened with a large family to support. But his virtues and his talents were not long in restoring to him what his nobility of character had caused him to lose. Without applying for it, he was shortly reappointed to the hospital service and sent to Calais.<sup>38, 42</sup>

Coste had been physician of the Hospital at Calais for about five years when, through the influence of the Duc de Choiseul and of his sister, the Duchess of Grammont, he was appointed Chief Physician to the army the French were sending to America under Rochambeau.<sup>34</sup>

*In America*—Rochambeau's army left Brest on April 12, 1780, and reached Newport on July 11. In anticipation of the arrival of the fleet, DeCorny, the Commissary General of the French Army went to Rhode Island and with Doctor James Craik, who had been



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sent by Washington to meet him to make arrangements "to provide hospitals and such refreshments as may be wanted in the first instance for the sick which may be on board the fleet of His Most Christian Majesty when it arrives." After some difficulties, suitable quarters were found in Newport and in Providence.<sup>58, 61</sup>

When the fleet arrived after the voyage of seventy-two days there were 600 or 700 soldiers and 1000 sailors suffering with scurvy. The landing of the sick took four days and 400 were put in hospitals at Newport, 280 in the hospital at Papoosquash Point and 300 were sent to Providence.<sup>61</sup> During this time, Coste was probably supervising the hospitals in the different places. It is recorded that in Newport he was quartered with William Lindon at 456 Back Street,<sup>61</sup> and in Providence at the house of Tillinghast on "the main street this side the bridge."<sup>56</sup>

Blanchard, Commissary of the French forces, records that, with Coste and Demars, the steward, he visited Papoosquash on July 13th to "examine an establishment which M. deCorny had arranged for our sick," and that on July 19, there were already 280 sick there.<sup>46</sup> The patients with scurvy were doing well on a plentiful supply of cherries and vegetables, and Blanchard had time to note that the women were "generally pretty and the bovines as handsome as those of Poitou."

In September about a tenth of the army was sick and many had dysentery which did not seem to be dangerous. Coste, with Blanchard, inspected the hospitals and on September 12 was at Providence where the hospital was found to be "in very good order."<sup>46</sup>

In December the cold was very severe and Admiral de Ternay was taken sick and brought on shore. Coste was sent for and found him very sick. He died at the house of Joseph Wanton of "putrid fever" on the fifteenth.<sup>46</sup>

Such are the meager records of Coste's stay in Newport. Shortly after his arrival, on July 25th, he finished his *Compendium Pharmaceuticum*, a brief pharmacopoeia in Latin for the use of the hospitals under his charge, which was printed by Henry Barber at Newport in 1780.<sup>15</sup> It was, I think, the second pharmacopoeia to be published in this country. According to Garrison, the first one, likewise for use in military hospitals, was prepared by Doctor



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William Brown of Virginia for use in the Continental Army and was issued anonymously from the Military hospital at Lititz, Pennsylvania, in 1778.\* A second edition was published with the author's name attached in 1781.<sup>51</sup> Both of these works are rare. The only copy of Coste's Compendium that I have been able to find is in the Surgeon General's Library. It is a pamphlet of sixteen pages giving seventy-nine formulae under fourteen headings and a postscript. The inscription on the title page is:

*Quid quid praecipies esto brevis. Hor, art, poet.*

(Whatever you enjoin (prescribe), let it be brief.)

The introduction is as follows:

The doubtful changes of war, the ocean and a long voyage urge few remedies. This necessity smiled in no slight way upon my hopes, a necessity which allows only the most excellent things in the art. For the simpler the art of medicine is the better it is and the more truly rich. This would be all the more becoming to men with whom under the auspices of the spirit of liberty, just as in health, only heroic things must be tried and done, so only heroic help will be of use in restoring to health both their country and their friendly military union.

In spite of the brevity of this little pharmacopoeia, Coste elsewhere intimates that it might well have been briefer still.

To the military hospitals of the French in North America I had dedicated a compendium pharmaceuticum published in 1780 at Newport, Rhode Island, than which there is none more simple, more brief. Nevertheless, we did not call into practical use a tenth part, perchance, of the approximately 100 formulae of which it consisted.<sup>17</sup>

\*Note.—There is a formulary of 71 formulae at the end of the translation of Van Swieten's book which was published in 1777 "for the use of Naval and Military Surgeons in America," at the suggestion of "a gentleman of the faculty in the City of Philadelphia . . . who is desirous of affording every help in his power, towards a successful termination of the present American Measures, for the Defense of Liberty."<sup>65</sup>

As to when Coste visited Connecticut no information was found. He may have gone there after the cessation of the scurvy in his hospitals gave him a little leisure, or he may have visited Lebanon where Lauzun was wintering and comparing the town to Siberia, or he may not have been in the state except when he passed

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through with the Army on its march to and from Yorktown. Yet his observations on Connecticut indicate that he found time to visit a few of its burying grounds and to make some observations on the inhabitants.

In what they had called New England, if there is any faith to be put in the inscriptions on their monuments, it is clear that this (40) is the average length of life as they say in North America. Nevertheless, especially in the mountains of Connecticut, I have found very many men and women more than forty years old, some more than 80, certain ones nearer 100, some even who had become 100. To this end clearly contributed the purer atmosphere, the sound food, the temperate method of life, the best habits, the status of fortune and rank amongst the citizens, more balanced, so to speak, and equal. By the very nature of the region, not less than by the wise constitution of the state, the necessity of toil is imposed. Pennsylvania, more beautiful, has perchance more wherewith to please the eyes but Connecticut more wherewith to delight the heart.

“*Beatus ille qui procul negotiis . . . .*”

(“Happy is he who far from business cares . . . .”)

If you must find the happy man of Horace you must seek in Connecticut or give up.<sup>17, note 20.</sup>

I have been able to find no other trace of Coste's activities until he reached Yorktown. The sickness among the troops had probably disappeared before they left New England, for on the march of 750 miles between Newport and Yorktown, cases of sickness were rare. Abbé Robin says that “The attention of the superior officers very much contributed to this by the care they took in obliging the soldiers to drink no water without rum in it to remove its noisome qualities.”<sup>54</sup>

More sickness occurred on the arrival before Yorktown for Blanchard states that “At the beginning of the siege we had four hundred of them.” There were a few more sick and wounded just after the fall of Yorktown.<sup>46</sup>

During the siege of Yorktown the French Army had a hospital in the field with Coste, and Robillard, the chief surgeon, in charge of it. Nearby, in the rear of Lafayette's headquarters was the field hospital of the American wing of the army in charge of Doctor James Craik.<sup>61, 62</sup> On service in this hospital were Doctor James Thacher and his assistant Doctor Aeneas Munson. It is rather



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curious that Thacher makes no mention of Coste, and says little about the French Medical service.

Shortly after the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781, the French troops were stationed at Williamsburg where they remained till June of the following year. James Thacher describes the town as it then appeared as follows:

This is the capital of Virginia, but in other respects is of little importance. It is situated on a level piece of land, at an equal distance between two small rivers, one of which falls into York, the other into James River. The city is one mile and a quarter in length, and contains about two hundred and fifty houses. The main street is more than one hundred feet in width, and exactly one mile in length—at one of the extremities, and fronting the street, is the capitol, or state house, a handsome edifice, and at the other end is the college, capable of accommodating three hundred students, but the tumult of war has broken up the institution. The college is about one hundred and thirty feet in length and forty in breadth, with two handsome wings fifty by thirty. Their library is said to consist of about three thousand volumes. Near the center of the city is a large church, and not far from it the palace, the usual residence of the governor, which is a splendid building. The water in this vicinity is extremely brackish and disagreeable.<sup>62</sup>

The College of William and Mary was given over to the French army and was used as a hospital. During their stay the College Building was damaged and the President's house was burned. This was repaired later and the President's house rebuilt at the expense of the French Government.<sup>53</sup>

Doctor James Tilton visited the French hospital here. His account of it follows:

After the siege and capture of Yorktown in Virginia, Gen. Washington returned to the northward and the French troops were cantoned in Williamsburg. I was left in charge of the sick and wounded Americans, who could not be moved. Being thus in a French garrison, I had some opportunity of observing the French practice and management of their sick. In passing the wards of their hospital, their patients appear very neat and clean, above all examples I had ever seen. Each patient was accommodated with every thing necessary, even to a night cap. Nevertheless, they were not more successful than we were. Even their wounded, with all the boasted dexterity of the French to aid them, were no more fortunate than ours. I was led to attribute their failure princi-





WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

From the original daguerreotype (about 1855 or 1856) in the Library of William and Mary College.  
This building was burned in 1859. It was used as a hospital for the French troops after the fall of Yorktown.





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pally to two causes. For ease and convenience, they had contrived a common necessary for their whole hospital, the college, a large building, three stories high, by erecting a half hexagon, of common boards, reaching from the roof down to a pit in the earth. From this perpendicular conduit doors opened upon each floor of the hospital; and all manner of filth and excrementitious matters were dropped and thrown down this common sewer, into the pit below. This sink of nastiness perfumed the whole house very sensibly and, without doubt, vitiated all the air within the wards. In the next place their practice appeared to me to be very inert. When passing their wards, with the prescribing physicians I observed a great number of their patients in a languid and putrid condition, and asked, occasionally, if the bark would not be proper in such cases? The uniform answer was no, too much inflammation. And when they attended my round of prescription and saw me frequently prescribe the bark, in febrile cases, and even for the wounded, they lifted up their hands in astonishment. Few or no chemical remedies were employed by them. One of their regimental surgeons declared that he never used opium. Their hospital pharmacopoeia consisted chiefly of potions, decoctions and watery drinks, fitted only for inflammatory disorders. All these circumstances considered, satisfied my mind, why their ample accommodations gave them no advantage of us, in the result of practice. I was the more surprised, as Doctors Coste and Borgelli both appeared to be men of science, well qualified to make research.<sup>63</sup>

The "hospital pharmacopoeia" referred to is undoubtedly Coste's "Compendium" described above.

If the reported date, (1780) is correct, shortly after his arrival in Newport, Coste was requested, through the French Ambassador, by the Humane Society of Philadelphia, to write an article on asphyxia.<sup>29</sup>

The Humane Society, for the recovery of drowned persons, was established in 1780. Its objects were enlarged by extending the efforts of the members to cases of asphyxia and other cases which might suspend animation in human beings for a time. . . . This society also offered prizes for dissertations on suspended animation, etc.<sup>60</sup>

Several references to this article entitled "Mémoire sur l'Asphyxie," and its English translation, have been found. As it appeared in the same year as the founding of the society, it may have been its first publication and may have been requested in order to give the society a worthy start. The pamphlet must be extremely



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rare for it is found in none of the catalogues that I have been able to consult of the large libraries in this country or Europe, nor in the libraries of historical societies that I thought might possibly have a copy of it. That it was satisfactory to the Society is evident from the fact that Coste was elected to membership.

Rochambeau's troops remained at Williamsburg till June of 1782. On the twelfth of that month Coste received the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine from William and Mary College.<sup>69</sup> This appears to have been an unusual honor, for according to the records of the College, honorary degrees were rarely bestowed and their recipients were men of the highest distinction. The list up to the end of that year is:

Benjamin Franklin, A. M., 1756.

Chevalier de Chastellux, General in French Army, LL.D., 1782.

John F. Coste, First Physician in French Army, M. D., 1782.

Thomas Jefferson, LL.D., 1782.

There were no degrees conferred again until 1790 when the Rt. Rev. James Madison received that of Doctor of Divinity.<sup>53</sup>

On the day on which Coste's degree was conferred a convocation was held at the College and Coste delivered a Latin oration before a large audience which included the faculty, officers and many soldiers.

The theme of the oration is that the medical philosophy of the Ancients befits the New World. After the usual complimentary remarks to the Faculty and audience, he urges the necessity of keeping medicine free from all allegiance to masters or systems. Medicine must be free. So long as it is subjected to the authority of even the most celebrated masters it is nothing but a slave. You have established the independence of the New World; may independence in medicine shortly follow that of the nation. He points to Hippocrates as the example of sound doctrine, and shows the comparative uselessness of systems of medicine established since his time.

In the second part of the oration he takes up the causes of diseases prevalent in the United States, the constitution of the inhabitants and their manner of life, and the methods of improving both. He notes the deplorable conditions of medicine and suggests remedies that should be used for bettering it.

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One passage referring to the character of the inhabitants of different regions may be quoted.

The inactivity in exercise and toil which obtains in the New World belongs to the southern regions much more than to the northern. To other reasons for this difference I add that there are more aristocrats with wealth and more slaves to be seen in the south especially in Virginia. If the vigour and activity of the people of Boston and Connecticut is greater, perhaps the moral and political condition of the region contributes no less than the physical qualities of the climate and atmosphere. Since the politics of Virginia tend rather to aristocracy, those of Boston and Rhode Island to democracy.

It is to be clearly noted that in those qualities which look toward military bravery, in all those which are founded and promoted, established or accomplished for the sake of the general welfare, the Virginians showed themselves distinguished by many and eminent deeds in the whole course of the war. So much could the love of liberty accomplish.<sup>17</sup>

He closes with good wishes for the Americans and addresses eulogies to the leaders of the War of Independence, and especially to Washington.

The oration was long and learned and perhaps one of Coste's French biographers was not mistaken in saying that "the learned body of this Society listened religiously, and was astounded at the scientific attainments, the talent and the lofty eloquence of our compatriot," and that at its close, "long applause greeted this peroration. The entire audience rose and gave an imposing ovation to the eminent orator who had bound it with the charm of his science and of his oratory."<sup>42</sup>

In addition to caring for the French Hospital, Coste must have rendered some service to the American Hospitals during his stay in Williamsburg as shown by the letter which Washington wrote him a few months later.

Headquarters 7th October 1782.

Sir:

Your humane attention to the American Hospitals which were established at Williamsburg after the Siege of York has been properly represented to me. I beg you to be assured, Sir, that I entertain a due sense of your kindness upon that occasion, and take this



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opportunity of testifying how much I think myself and the public obliged to you.

I am Sir

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> & h<sup>ble</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

Doc<sup>t</sup> Coste

Physician General

to

The Army of H. E. Count de Rochambeau<sup>67</sup>

Where Coste was during the rest of his stay in America is uncertain. Rochambeau's army left Boston for home on December 24, 1782, and it is probable that Coste went with it. In the meantime, he undoubtedly visited Philadelphia for, according to the records in the office of the Dean of the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, the "Honorary Degree of M. D. was conferred upon Johannes-François De Coste, Physician General to the French Army in America, on December 23, 1782."<sup>68</sup>

If Coste left with Rochambeau's army he could not have received this degree in person nor could he so have received his election to the American Philosophical Society which took place on January 18, 1783.<sup>55</sup>

Coste's services, as well as the environment, must have contributed to keeping the health of the French Army good. Of it Blanchard says:

Notwithstanding the changeable weather which I have observed at Rhode Island during the whole winter, the country is healthy, the rest of my sojourn proved it to me. I have always had fewer sick persons in our hospitals than in France, and when our army set out in the latter part of 1782, after staying in America two and a half years, we had not ten sick in a thousand men.<sup>46</sup>

Des Cilleuls says that Coste also probably "saved the life of Rochambeau, who had typhus, though the latter in his Memoirs speaks neither of his sickness nor of his saviour."<sup>36</sup>

Picquet quotes Munaret as reporting an incident of Coste's homesickness.

In Coste one sentiment dominated all the others; noise of camps could not take it from him, the ocean was not wide enough to separate him from it; it was his love for his native land. The soldiers saw him, more than once, standing on the seashore of the New World, his eyes turned toward France. One of his friends,



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an officer, surprised him one day in the midst of his homesick revery. Coste said, "It is a piece of childishness that will make you laugh, but I cannot resist seeking in the fantastic shapes of the waves, the illusion of my more beautiful mountains of Bugey."<sup>42</sup>

The French Government recognized Coste's services to The French Army in America by the bestowal of a brevet of Médecin de la Marine and a pension of 3000 francs.<sup>29</sup>

*Mayor of Versailles*—On his return to France in 1783, Coste resumed his position as physician to the Hospital at Calais. The following year he was made Chief Consulting Physician of the Camps and Armies of the King and was shortly after sent to Versailles to the war office to take charge of the correspondence with the military surgeons.<sup>29</sup>

In 1785 he was made Inspector of the Sanitary Corps of the Departments of Lille, Amiens, Valenciennes, Chalons, Metz, and Paris. The following year he visited many places, and made a trip to England at his own expense to study military hospitals. In 1790 he published his book on Military Hospitals.

Coste was still at Versailles when the Communes of the kingdom were directed to reorganize their municipalities in compliance with the decree of the Constituent Assembly of October 14, 1789. The election at Versailles was held on February 8, 1790. Coste was elected on the second ballot and was inaugurated, the first elective mayor, on March 9th.

On April 24, Coste addressed the National Assembly and presented to it his work on Military Hospitals. In the official record of the meeting are found the words of thanks which the President addressed to him.

Health is one of the blessings of heaven the presence of which does not make happiness, but the absence of which destroys it. We only know its value when it leaves us. Your works help to console those who have lost it. You have deserved well of humanity. It is in its name that the National Assembly receives the homage of your talents and allows you to be present at its meeting.<sup>42</sup>

Later, October 14, 1790, the Committee of Health of the National Assembly wrote him the following letter:

The Committee of Public Health, formed in the heart of the National Assembly to attend to all affairs of public health, recog-

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nizing the claims to general esteem which M. Coste has acquired by his services in the different positions he has occupied, and wishing to take under consideration all matters pertaining to military hospitals in order to bring these establishments to the highest degree of usefulness to which they are susceptible, invites Monsieur Coste to join the Committee and invites him to its meetings there to present his views in regard to the Service which is under so great obligations to him.<sup>42</sup>

As mayor, Coste was diligent in striving to assure the vitality of the city of 50,000 inhabitants, which had few resources and was in a serious condition after the departure of the Court. He was active in providing work for the poor and in quieting the agitations that were caused by the pitiful condition of a large part of the population. "The astonishing calmness which he exhibited in the midst of popular agitations, to which he owed his success in avoiding the suppression of riots by brutal and bloody means was seen again and again." Broussais said: "The day will never be forgotten on which this fearless magistrate, standing alone between an army and a population equally turbulent, restrained both by his invincible firmness."<sup>42</sup>

Brillat-Savarin called his administration "active, kind and fatherly."<sup>34</sup> Simon said: "By his energy, his eloquence and his uprightness he was able to maintain peace and harmony in his municipality in the bloody hours of the Revolution."<sup>31</sup>

He was courageous in his public utterances and tried to impress upon his hearers the duties of citizenship. Referring to the oath they had taken, he said, "Citizens, these words are sacred. They express your duties, your rights and the advantages which result from them." At another time he said:

"My oaths are sacred; the time for their fulfillment has come. Public order ought to be the first effect of their accomplishment; such was the object of the reforms which our patriotism urged, such is the goal toward which all our effort should tend.

On the occasion of the death of Mirabeau he said:

Brushing aside the thoughts of his private life, the errors which humanity is heir to, let us draw a religious veil over the weaknesses of the man and look only upon the services he rendered the fatherland which are evident to everyone. Let the people weep for Mirabeau! The people whose best friend he was. The people to



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whom he restored the name and dignity that belonged to them. May they ever maintain that dignity as they keep in mind the rights of man, never forgetting the duties of the citizen.<sup>42</sup>

As he distributed the prizes at the recently secularized schools he said:

Though education was always an inestimable good, it has become strictly a necessity under the condition of affairs established by the Constitution. Not all citizens are called upon to be administrators but do not forget that they are all called upon to choose their administrators.<sup>42</sup>

At the last official ceremony as mayor, that of the proclamation of the Constitution, he closed his speech with, "Remember, citizens, that, in the social order, the more one is a slave of the law, the freer one is."<sup>42</sup>

On another occasion he wrote:

I learned from these true philosophers . . . to detest license as the most cruel enemy of liberty. I learned from them that submission to law is its greatest support. In their school I learned that the social rights of man have no solid basis except the duties of the citizen.<sup>42</sup>

It was natural that one of his first projects as mayor should have been to reorganize the hospitals and put them on a good basis. He was also "one of the founders of the Library of Versailles under the following circumstances. At a meeting of the Council in April 1790, a municipal officer presented it with a book entitled 'Demetrius or the Education of a Prince.' The next day the Mayor presented a work entitled 'Hospital Service restored to its true principles.' These two works were the first to start the library of that city which today numbers more than 100,000 volumes."<sup>42</sup>

On November 13, 1791, there was a new election of officers. There were two ballots before a majority vote was obtained.

On the third, Richard Hyacinthe was elected by 650 votes out of 1169, and proclaimed Mayor of Versailles. This vote brought about the resignation of a number of municipal officers and, Coste, on the occasion of his departure, received many visits and tokens of friendship. . . . Among these expressions of sympathy that of the Twelfth Section especially affected him. The president of the Twelfth Section with his colleagues and a number of the more important citizens of that part of the city came to his house and

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addressed him as follows: "Mr. Mayor, we are instructed to offer you the sincere regret and the respectful homage of the Twelfth Section of Versailles. This task would inspire us only with a sense of affliction if we were not convinced that your example, your talents and your virtues, will create a valuable emulation in the minds of those who will be called to fulfill the functions which you have so admirably performed." . . . . The delegation asked to have its address read to the Municipal Council and inserted in its minutes as "a testimonial of the regard in which the citizens of the Twelfth Section held M. Coste, the first elective Mayor of Versailles."<sup>42</sup>

*Later Life*—After his retirement as mayor, the rest of Coste's life was filled by the work of the various military positions elsewhere enumerated which he held uninterruptedly until his death. During the Terror he was removed from his position on the Council of Health (October 21, 1793), but was later replaced. He did not cease to hold his position as Chief Physician of the Armies during that time. In 1808 he went to Milan, Geneva, and Alexandria to study the hospitals there.<sup>42</sup> He served in the campaign of Austerlitz, Jena, and Eylau. In 1809 Coste was relieved from field service and went back to Paris.<sup>29</sup> He had been made Chief Physician of the Hôtel des Invalides some years before. He held this position, together with several others as long as he lived. He died on November 8, 1819, of an affection of the lungs.<sup>38</sup> Official eulogies were given by Willaume, Brassier, Broussais and Vaidy, at Metz, Strasburg, Paris and Lille. The first of these was chosen for publication "because it appeared more complete."<sup>44</sup>

*Medical Work and Writings*—Coste was connected with the medical service of the army for a little over fifty years, the whole of his medical life with the exception of a few years at its beginning. His first writings were on the epidemic at Gex which brought him to the notice of Voltaire who assisted him in entering his career of military medicine. His most important writings were on military medicine and were published with a view to improving that service. Some of the subjects treated were management of military hospitals, sanitation for the army in Italy, and courses of instruction in military hospitals. His last publication, two years before his death, was the article of seventy-seven pages on Hospitals in the "Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales."



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The book on Military Hospitals<sup>19</sup> is considered to be his best. Of it Picquet says,

It contains so complete a program of useful reforms which laid so firm a basis for the administration and organization of military medicine that we can say that today the hygiene and the organization of the military service in the hospitals still bears the imprint put upon them by the work of Jean-François Coste.<sup>42</sup>

and Bégin in his history of the French Military Sanitary Service says:

When we consult the annals of academies, when we examine the progress of science, when we open the libraries, we find on all sides, in the first ranks, the officers of the military sanitary service, associating with the difficult duties of active service, observation which enlightens, meditation which is fruitful, publication and teaching which diffuses knowledge. Their names are engraved on the Arc de Triomphe consecrated to the military glories of France, as well as in the history of the benefactors of humanity.

It would be easy to cite a large number of these names, which still live in the memory of the army and of the country. It will suffice to recall, in medicine, the venerated Coste, des Genettes, Gorcy, Brassier, Rampont, Vaidy, and in genius, the greatest of all, Broussais . . . .<sup>45</sup>

Coste was always seeking to better the conditions of the hospitals, and never hesitated to attack abuses connected with their administration. Reference has already been made to his resignation, when a young officer, because he found it impossible to correct the abuses that were taking place in the hospital at Nancy. Picquet relates that at the end of 1792 Coste was warned by the Minister Puy-Segur that if he intended to keep his position he should be more careful in expressing his opinions in regard to hospital conditions. Coste replied, "Threats cannot move me" and continued to express his opinions.<sup>42</sup>

His fearlessness never left him. Brillat-Savarin gives an incident that occurred toward the end of his life.

One day when we dined with M. Favre, the curé of Saint-Laurent, our compatriot, Doctor Coste told me of the lively quarrel he had had on that very day with the Count de Cessac, then the Director of the administration of war, about an economy which the latter intended to propose for the purpose of winning Napoleon's favor.

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This economy consisted in restricting the soldiers to one half of their allowance of toast water and of having the lint that was used for dressing their wounds washed so that it might be used two or three times.

The doctor had violently protested against these measures which he qualified as abominable, and he was still so full of his subject, that he became as angry as though the object of his wrath were still present.

I never was able to find out whether the count was really converted and had left his economy unrepresented; but the thing that is certain is that the sick soldiers were always able to drink as much toast water as they wished, and that all lint that had been used for dressings was thrown away.<sup>34</sup>

Brillat-Savarin also says that after he had reached an influential position in the Military Sanitary Service, Coste “was constantly the friend, protector and father of the young men who were embarking on this career.”

Coste's early association with Rousseau and more especially with Voltaire had much influence on him. It was by Voltaire's influence that Coste got his start in the career of military medicine and he always retained and frequently expressed a feeling of gratitude toward him. This gratitude perhaps made him a not impartial judge of his teacher. He not only makes Voltaire the greatest philosopher of the eighteenth century but places him as the rival of Newton, Sophocles, Archimedes and Plato.

Voltaire's influence accounts for Coste's interest in philosophy, and for his writings on the relation of philosophy to belles-lettres and to medicine.

Coste defines his conception of philosophy as “cultivated intelligence, (*raison*), brought to such a point of perfection as human weakness permits, and applied to ways of making men happy by the practice of virtue, the knowledge of good and the enjoyment of pleasure . . . . in a word as a force of the intellect (*raison*) which results in thinking, saying and doing great things.”<sup>42</sup> Add to this his statement that “The simpler the art of medicine is, the better it is, and the more rich,”<sup>15</sup> consider his admiration for Hippocrates and his methods, and it is clear that Coste had a philosophy well “suited to the study and practice of medicine.”

*Appearance and Character*—Willaume thus describes Coste:

His bearing and his gait were noble, his manners dignified, his



D. Parifat, D. m. p.  
 novissima et eximia  
 aphorismorum Hippocrati,  
 ex graeca in latinam simul et gallicam linguam,  
 translationis,  
 quae meo benigne donavit,  
 auctori,  
 Hoc, eorundem aphorismorum  
 Extracti, quatuordecim quae specimen,  
 in grati animi testimonium,  
 D. D. D. Coste.  
 23 Jul. 1813.

COSTE'S HANDWRITING  
 From the fly leaf of the copy of the *Oratio* in the Library of the New York  
 Academy of Medicine.



PORTRAIT OF COSTE  
 From the copy of the *Oratio* in the Library of the New York  
 Academy of Medicine.





## JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE

face grave, his look penetrating, his voice strong and sonorous, his language of sustained elegance, his tone solemn, in a word all his person imposed respect.<sup>44</sup>

Enough has been said to show that Coste was an honest administrator, and a courageous critic of abuses.

In 1792 he was attacked by political enemies whom he had exposed and who succeeded in 1793 in removing him from the Council of Health. A few passages from his letter to the Minister Pache on this occasion show his method of defending his colleagues and himself.

It is my privilege, Citizen Minister, to make a frontal attack on the objection which is stated to be the prime motive, that is to say, the prime pretext of the new formation which is proposed to you. The former officers are accused of a lack of devotion to civic principles. I affirm, under oath, that I have never heard a single one of my colleagues express an opinion in our meetings that was not in accordance with the general desire. I affirm that the two colleagues with whom I conducted the inspection did not let a single chance escape to disseminate the expression of the profoundest respect for the laws and their administrators. As for myself, Citizen Minister, can anyone, in good faith, question the patriotism of him who from his earliest youth has sacrificed his time, his talents, and his family's money in the service of his Country and of its allies? Can anyone believe that he could have been the enemy of liberty or the friend or partisan of arbitrary power, who under the ancient regime, incessantly denounced and prosecuted abuses, who though having a large family dependent on him for support, was able to give up positions which assured him of food when he was not permitted to fill them as his sense of duty prescribed that he should fill them. . . . Did I fear to express myself on the subject of ministerial agents? Is there a single injustice, a single abuse against which I did not cry out? . . .

But the most cowardly, the most perfidious of their calumnies has been to attribute to me a stipend (*traitement*) on the civil list. Imagine me among the crowd of courtiers or intrigants!! Those who dare to say it do not believe it. They will not succeed in making it believed. I challenge them formally to prove that I ever made any applications to the court other than perfectly open ones prescribed by the orders of the Commune of Versailles in regard to its interests or to solicit the important assistance which I was fortunate enough to procure for its poor. Let them show the riches I have acquired!—Let them enumerate the favors that I have obtained, the positions I have occupied at Court,—or those that I have asked for!

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When Voltaire assisted me to enter the career of military medicine, I had a moderate fortune, sufficient for my needs. My numerous changes of location, all motivated by the good of the service, have used it up. I have a wife and six children. We have nothing left, absolutely nothing except the consolation which results from irreproachable conduct worthy perhaps of a better fate.

These circumstances, Citizen Minister, are not at all the reasons of my protest. Far be it from me to insist on things which I owe my Country. Such a sentiment is offensive to a free man. As a subject I will never ask a favor. As a citizen I demand only strict justice.

To any other minister I should say, The law guarantees me this: it forbids that anyone be deprived arbitrarily of his position without a trial. Let a court martial be formed to decide on my conduct. Let them introduce my words, my writings, my actions, or the neglect of duty they impute to me. I am ready to reply to the most trivial as well as to the gravest charges:

But to you, Citizen Minister, I content myself with saying: If, since 1763, zeal and success have marked my services in all the circumstances of peace and war in which a physician might be placed, if my perseverance, if my attachment to the principles of careful conduct, of simplicity and economy have led to a succession of personal sacrifices, if my known works, if the respect with which my colleagues honor me, if judgment which comes from long experience with men and affairs have given me any claim to the position which I have filled for nine years, then interest in the Republic, the love of my Country and of Humanity, make it my duty to continue the exercise of the functions which I have shown myself capable of exercising. But I assure you, Citizen Minister, that whether fortunate or not, whether I have means of subsistence or whether I am surrounded with want and privation, if by an inconceivable fate my other rights are abrogated, I will never give up that of being of service. My most earnest prayers plead for the reform of abuses which still exist in the Sanitary Service of the Armies, and all my strength will be exerted toward bringing that Service up to that degree of perfection of which it is susceptible.<sup>42</sup>

Coste “devoted his entire life to the service of the noblest ideals”<sup>42</sup> and “died surrounded by esteem, and respected by all the officers of the Sanitary Corps. His courage and his self denial, his devotion to the Military Sanitary Corps will surely save his name from oblivion.”<sup>36</sup>

The following official letter written just after his death is an interesting testimonial to the value of his services:



JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE

Paris, November 20, 1819.

The Governor of the Hôtel des Invalides (Maréchal Duc de Coigny) to the Minister of War (Maréchal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr).

Your Excellency has been informed of the loss the Hôtel has sustained in M. Coste, Chief Physician of the Invalides. I believe that in informing you of this unfortunate occurrence I had the honor to inform you at the same time of the universal regret that it aroused.

I know that you will constantly bear in mind the so eminent qualities which were united in him when it comes to deciding upon the amount of pension due his widow. I therefore feel it my duty to give striking testimony to the superiority and indefatigable zeal which he constantly evidenced in the exercise of his functions. I will not go into details in regard to his numerous services. I limit myself to calling to your attention that for forty years he was Chief Physician of the Armies. This high position was due only to his distinguished abilities. It is particularly because of the nobility and disinterestedness with which he performed his service that I appeal to you for the exercise of all that solicitude and benevolent interest, of which you on several occasions gave him such positive proof.

I am not ignorant, Monsieur le Maréchal, that you hold M. Coste in the highest esteem. I who am in a position to appreciate his great qualities better than anyone else, share all your feelings for him. I do not hesitate to add that the King had no subject who was more intent on fulfilling the important duties and tasks which were entrusted to him.

No doubt it is not fitting for me to go into the question of what the services have been, of those Chief Physicians of the Army whose widows have been pensioned. But your Excellency cannot have failed to notice that the services of M. Coste and the rare devotion which he displayed during his long career, place him in an unique position, and that in both respects, he cannot be likened to any of his predecessors.

His family, Monsieur le Maréchal, is full of confidence in your justice. I join my urgent solicitations to theirs, and I can not too strongly beseech your Excellency to recommend Madame Coste to the bounty of the King *in the most urgent manner*.

I have the honor to be, etc.<sup>42</sup>

Coste was not one of the great physicians of his time but he was a physician of ability and high character who held important positions and whose long life was devoted to faithful and courageous service in all the positions occupied.

He always remembered and often referred to his American ex-

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periences and especially to his relations with Washington and Franklin and to their ideals of liberty. His pleasant memories of America may perhaps be best inferred from the fact that he named a daughter Virginia.<sup>44</sup>

In spite of the small amount of information obtainable in regard to his services here, it is quite evident that they were not inconsiderable as the recognition, an honorary degree from William and Mary College, one from the University of Pennsylvania, and an election to the American Philosophical Society, was unusual for a physician at that time.

Coste's name deserves to be remembered along with those of more illustrious Frenchmen whose services were valuable in the establishment of American Independence.

DIPLOMA GIVEN TO COSTE BY WILLIAM & MARY COLLEGE,  
JUNE 12, 1782.

*Journal of the President and Masters or Professors of  
William and Mary College.*

At a Meeting of ye Presid<sup>t</sup> and Professors on ye 12<sup>h</sup> June 1782.

Resolved, that a Degree of Doctor of Physic be conferred upon Doct<sup>r</sup> Coste first physician to ye French Army—of which ye following is a Diploma.

Omnibus ad quos praesentes Literae pervenerint Praeses et Professores Universitatis Gulielmi & Mariae in Virginia—  
Salutem:

Quum in Charta Nostra nobis concessum & confirmatum fuit, ut eos qui se literis et suis studiis praecipue ornarunt, Gradibus Academici Decoremus, quum volumus in hujusmodi honorem talis imprimis evehi vivos, quales nobis, et juventuti Virginiensi exemplum valde egregium praebeant; Quumque Joannem Franciscum Coste, Genevensem saluberrimarum medicinae facultatum Parisiensis Alumnum, Valentiensis Doctorem, Noscomii militaris et Arcis Caletensis Medicum & regis medicinae Societatibus Londinensi, Ediburgensi, Parissiensis, regii Lotharingorum medicorum collegiis, socium Honorarium et regiis Scientiarum artium et literarum academiis Nanceiana, Lugdunensi, Divionensi et patrioticis Sueciae et Hessiae, Hamburgensis, Societatibus, ex humana Societati Philadelphiensi Christianissimi regis Exercitus in America Archiatrum nobis commendarunt summi artis suae Honores a celeberrimis universitatibus supradictis in eum collati, nec non insignia quae nobis ipse obtulit doctrinae ingeniique sui monumenta:



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Idcirco in Solenni convocatione die duodecimo mensis Junii Anno Dom 1782 conspirantibus omnium Suffragiis eundem Joannem Franciscum Coste Medicinae Doctorem renunciavimus et constituimus eumque singulis honoribus et Privilegiis ad istum gradum inter nos pertinentibus frui et gaudere jussimus. In cujus rei testimonium his literis Sigillum Universitatis Gulielmi et Mariae apponi curavimus.<sup>69</sup>

### DIPLOMA GIVEN TO COSTE BY THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA DECEMBER 23, 1782.

À tous ceux auxquels la présente lettre parviendra, Salut!

Comme le grade d'académicien a été établi afin que les hommes qui ont bien mérité de l'Académie, de l'Eglise, de la République, et qui ont été élevés dans le giron de notre mère ou bien instruits ailleurs dans les beaux-arts, soient distingués du vulgaire, sachez que nous, préfet, vice-préfet, et autres professeurs de l'Université de Pensylvanie, après avoir concédé librement et attentivement les grades de docteurs en Médecine, nous attestons combien nous estimons Jean-François Coste, premier médecin de l'Armée du Roi très chrétien en Amérique, homme pleinement instruit dans l'art médical et dont les meurs bienveillantes nous ont entièrement attaché à son roi et à la nation française. C'est pourquoi tous nos suffrages sont pour créer et établir docteur en Médecine, l'homme honorable et remarquable Jean-François Coste, à qui, en vertu de ce diplôme, nous avons accordé de jouir de tous les droits particuliers des honneurs et privilèges attachés à ce grade.

Pour attestation nous posons le cachet public de Pensylvanie à la présente lettre.

Donné à Philadelphie, 22 décembre 1782.

Gulielmus Shippen, doct. médecin, prof. d'anatomie.

Johannes Ewing, doct, prof. préfet.

Sam. Magan, vice-préfet.

Jac Davidson, prof.

Joh. Christoph. Hauze, prof.

Robertus Davidson, prof. hist.

Archibaldus Qamblelin, prof.

Robertus Waterson, prof. math.

Note.—This is Picquet's translation.<sup>42</sup> The original diploma is probably in France.

### COSTE'S OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

Médecin des troupes dans la région de Gex 1766-1769.

Médecin de l'hôpital militaire de Versoy du 15 août 1769 au 13 septembre 1772.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE

Médecin en survivance de l'hôpital de Nancy du 14 septembre 1772 au 3 décembre 1775.

Médecin de l'hôpital de Calais du 4 décembre 1775 au 11 mars 1780.

Premier médecin du Corps du général Rochambeau du 12 mars 1780. du 25 mars 1784.

Premier médecin des Armées du 26 mars 1784 au 26 juillet 1785.

Inspecteur du service de santé des départements de Lille, Amiens, Valenciennes, Chalons, Metz, et Paris du 27 juillet 1785 au 16 mai 1788.

Membre du Conseil de Santé du 17 mai 1788 au 4 août 1788.

Premier médecin des troupes du Camp de Saint-Omer du 5 août 1788 au 6 juillet 1792.

Maire de la Ville de Versailles du 9 mars, 1790 (elected Feb. 8.) au 13 novembre 1791.

Inspecteur du Service de Santé des hôpitaux à la suite des armées du Nord, du centre et du Rhin, du 7 juillet 1792 au 26 février 1793.

Membre du Conseil de Santé militaire du 27 février au 20 mars 1793.

Premier médecin des Armées et membre du Conseil de Santé militaire du 21 mars au 20 octobre 1793.

Revoqué de sa qualité de membre du Conseil de Santé, le 21 octobre 1793 et resté en activité seulement comme premier médecin des armées jusqu'au 30 janvier 1795.

Premier médecin des armées avec cumulation du grade de membre du Conseil de Santé du 25 juillet 1796.

Médecin en chef titulaire de l'Hôtel Royal des Invalides du 26 juillet 1796 et nommé successivement :

Membre du Conseil de Santé, le 2 avril 1800.

Médecin en chef de l'armée des Côtes de l'Océan devenue Grande Armée le 18 décembre 1802.

Inspecteur général du Service de Santé le 15 décembre 1803 et médecin en chef de la Grande Armée.

Autorisé à rentrer à l'Inspection générale le 21 mars 1807.

Membre du Conseil de Santé militaire le 10 janvier 1816.

Mort dans l'exercice de ses fonctions en ladite qualité et comme Médecin en chef de l'Hôtel Royal des Invalides, le 8 novembre 1819.

Note.—This list is taken mostly from Picquet's article.<sup>42</sup>



## JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE

### SOCIETY MEMBERSHIPS AND HONORARY DEGREES

Membre de l'Académie de Stanislas, (Société Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Nancy: Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Nancy), 1774.<sup>40</sup>

Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur from its foundation, May 19, 1802.

Officier de la Légion d'Honneur.

Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur and given Cordon d'Or de Saint-Michel by Louis XVIII in 1814.<sup>29</sup>

Honorary member Royal Society of Medicine of London; of Edinburg; of Paris; and of the Royal College of Physicians of Lothringen.

Honorary Fellow of the National Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters of Sweden, and of Hesse-Homburg.<sup>17, 5</sup>

Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters of Leyden and of Dijon.

Honorary M. D. William and Mary College, June 12, 1782.<sup>53, 69</sup>

Honorary M. D. University of Pennsylvania, December 23, 1782<sup>68</sup>

Member Humane Society of Philadelphia.<sup>17</sup>

Fellow American Philosophical Society, January 18, 1783.<sup>55</sup>

Note.—It has been impossible to verify some of the memberships. Those not verified are as given by Coste. He did not always give the correct form to the names of Societies to which he belonged.

### COSTE'S WRITINGS

1. Mémoires (deux) sur l'épidémie du pays de Gex. Gex, 1763.
2. Lettre à M. Joly sur l'épidémie de Colonges au pays de Gex. Gex, 1763.
3. (Translated): Shaw, Peter: Méthode générale d'analyses, ou Recherches physiques sur les moyens de connaître toutes les eaux minérales. Paris, 1767.
4. Traité des maladies du poulmon. 1767.
5. Traité pratique sur la goutte, Paris, Herissant, 1768.
6. Éloge de M. Pierrot, membre de l'académie de chirurgie. Nancy, 1773.
7. Des avantages de la philosophie relativement aux belles-lettres. Nancy, LeClerc, 1774.

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8. Essai sur les moyens d'améliorer la salubrité du séjour de Nancy. Nancy, J-B-H-LeClerc, 1774.
9. Du genre de philosophie propre à l'étude et à la pratique de la médecine. Discours de réception à l'Académie royale des sciences, arts et belles lettres de Nancy, lu dans la séance publique du 25 août 1774. IV, Nancy, J-H-B-LeClerc, 1775.
10. (Translated): Necker, Noël Joseph de: Physiologie des corps organisés. Édition française du livre publié en latin à Mannheim, sous le titre de "Physiologie des Mousses," Bouillon, 1775.
11. (Translated): Mead, Richard: Recueil des oeuvres physiques et médicales publiées en anglais et en latin, Bouillon. 1774.
12. Éloge de M. Cupers. Lu dans la séance publique du 25 août 1775. Nancy, J-H-B-LeClerc, 1775.
13. Lettres à M. Paulet, pour servir de réponse à un factum de celui-ci, contre Abu-Becker, Mohammed Rhazes, le docteur Mead, M. Roux et l'auteur aussi flatté qu'émerveillé de se trouver en aussi bonne compagnie. Cantobéry, Simmons & Kerny, 1776.
14. (With Willemet M): Essais botaniques chimiques et pharmaceutiques sur quelques plantes indigènes substituées avec succès à des végétaux exotiques, aux quels on a joint des observations médicales sur les mêmes objets, Nancy, Vve. LeClerc, 1778-80, Nouvelle édition, 1793.
15. Compendium pharmaceuticum Militaribus Gallorum nosocomus in orbe novo boreali adscriptum, Newporti, Henrici Barber, 1780.
16. Mémoire sur l'asphyxie, demandé par la société humaine de Philadelphie à l'ambassadeur de France, Philadelphie, 1780. (Traduit en Anglais.)
17. De Antiqua Medico-philosophia orbi novo adaptanda, Oratio habita in capitolio Gulielmopolitano in comitiis universitatis Virginiae Die XII Junii M.DCC.LXXXII, Lugduni Batavorum, 1783.
18. Idem. Journal de Médecine Militaire de Dehorne, 2, 267-308, 1783. (A brief account of the oration and a translation of a large part of it.)
19. Du service des hôpitaux militaires rappelé aux vrais principes, Paris, Croullebois, 1790.



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20. Avis sur les moyens de conserver et de rétablir la santé des troupes à l'armée d'Italie, Paris 1796.
21. Vues générales sur les cours d'instruction des hôpitaux militaires, 1796.
22. Éloge de Joseph-Adam Lorentz, médecin en chef de l'armée du Rhin, prononcé au Conseil de santé, le 2 germinal an IX, (1800) par le premier médecin des armées, Paris. (No date.)
23. Précis historique de l'importation et de la naturalisation en France du *Reum palmatum* Linné, de la Tartarie chinoise, c'est à dire de la rhubarbe de 1<sup>re</sup> qualité, Paris, S. A. Hugel, an XIV, (1805).
24. (With Percy, Pierre-François) De la santé des troupes à la grande armée, Strasbourg, imp. de Levrault, 1806.
25. Notices sur les officiers de santé de la grande armée morts en Allemagne, victimes de leur zèle, depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> février, 1806, Augsburg, J. B. Roesi, (1806).
26. Discours sur la restauration des hôpitaux d'instruction en 1814.
27. Précis du traitement des maladies vénériennes par l'opium, ordonné et exécuté à l'hôpital de Lille.
28. Article "Hôpital" in: Dictionnaire des sciences médicales, Paris, 1817, XXI, pp. 367-544.

Note.—Eloy says that some publications have been wrongly attributed to Coste. This list has been compiled from many different sources. As far as possible it was verified by consulting the works themselves, but as many items were inaccessible, there may be some inaccuracies. The only copy of No. 15 that I have been able to trace is in the Surgeon-General's Library. Nos. 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 24, 25 are in the Surgeon-General's Library. No. 17 is in several libraries in this country. No copy of No. 16 has been found.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

29. Biographie des hommes Vivants, Paris, Michaud 1816-17, II, p. 244-5.
30. Biographisches Lexikon der Hervorragenden Aertze allen Zeiten und Völken, 1885, II, p. 89.
31. Bonnette: Éloge du médecin-inspector Coste, à la fête de l'Indépendance Américaine, à Versailles (July 4, 1918), La Presse Médicale 27, Sup. 655, Aug. 21, 1919.

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32. Idem: Medical Pickwick, 6, 47, 1920, (Abstract by A. N. Blodgett).
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